AIR COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE

AIR UNIVERSITY

# SAY NO TO "YES MEN":

# FOLLOWERSHIP IN THE MODERN MILITARY

by

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A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty

In Partial Fulfillment of the Graduation Requirements

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April 2009

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| **Report Documentation Page** | | | OMB No. 0704-0188 |

Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.

| 1. REPORT DATE<br>**APR 2009** | 2. REPORT TYPE<br>**N/A** | 3. DATES COVERED<br>**-** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE<br>**Say No To Yes Men: Followership In The Modern Military** | | 5a. CONTRACT NUMBER | |
| | | 5b. GRANT NUMBER | |
| | | 5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER | |
| 6. AUTHOR(S) | | 5d. PROJECT NUMBER | |
| | | 5e. TASK NUMBER | |
| | | 5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER | |
| 7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)<br>**Air Command And Staff College Air University Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama** | | 8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER | |
| 9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) | | 10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) | |
| | | 11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) | |

| 12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT<br>**Approved for public release, distribution unlimited** |
|---|

| 13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES |
|---|

14. ABSTRACT

**he Air Force can greatly benefit by increasing the role of followership in professional military education at all ranks, officer and enlisted, to help create more effective leaders. It is important to understand that leadership and followership are complementary competencies and military leaders must work to master both of them. Regardless of rank, every member of the United States Military is a subordinate to someone, whether it is to the Secretary of Defense or a newly commissioned Lieutenant. In the military community, every officer is both a leader and follower simultaneously in every position they hold. Therefore, it is vital for officers to hone their followership skills in addition to leadership skills to improve their overall effectiveness. Just as followers are expected to learn from leaders, the converse should also hold true. Leaders that learn from followers become more effective leaders. Understanding this, effective followership requires both dissent and flexibility these essential elements must be part of the development of 21st century Air Force senior leaders. This paper draws from the current body of knowledge on followership focusing on the foundational works and the followership styles they identify. It includes in-depth analysis of two traits recommended for effective leaders. This paper uses the problem/solution research methodology. The idea is not to provide a cookie-cutter follower checklist. Rather, the goal of this work is to initiate discussion of both the importance of followership and how the development and improvement of followership skills can improve the effectiveness of Air Force leaders.**

| 15. SUBJECT TERMS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| 16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF: | | | 17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT<br>**SAR** | 18. NUMBER OF PAGES<br>**41** | 19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. REPORT<br>**unclassified** | b. ABSTRACT<br>**unclassified** | c. THIS PAGE<br>**unclassified** | | | |

## Disclaimer

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## Preface

This paper is an attempt to raise awareness of how truly essential effective followership skills are, on their own and more importantly, as a complement to leadership skills. It may strike some as perverse to take a leadership course and choose to focus primarily on followership. However, during the course of my leadership studies, I couldn't help but notice a gap in this particular field of research. It is necessary to understand that in the military, even when in leadership positions, we are all followers. As such, leaders must not forget about using the characteristics and skills they learned as good followers. Followership may not be seen as glamorous – kids want to grow up to be the president, not a member of the presidential staff. This work hopes to convey how much Air Force officers can benefit as leaders from developing and improving followership skills throughout the span of their military careers.

First and foremost, huge thanks go to my advisor LtCol "Coach" Landry for introducing the leadership theories and ideas that really helped me make connections and take directions in my research I never would have come up with on my own. I would also like to thank LtCol Dowty for helping me formulate my topic and focus my ideas. Most importantly, I could not have survived any of this without the encouragement and support of my husband and fellow student Jason, the time we spent discussing ideas while driving to and from school made all the difference.

**Abstract**

The Air Force can greatly benefit by increasing the role of followership in professional military education at all ranks, officer and enlisted, to help create more effective leaders. It is important to understand that leadership and followership are complementary competencies and military leaders must work to master both of them. Regardless of rank, every member of the United States Military is a subordinate to someone, whether it is to the Secretary of Defense or a newly commissioned Lieutenant. In the military community, every officer is both a leader and follower simultaneously in every position they hold. Therefore, it is vital for officers to hone their followership skills in addition to leadership skills to improve their overall effectiveness. Just as followers are expected to learn from leaders, the converse should also hold true. Leaders that learn from followers become more effective leaders. Understanding this, effective followership requires both dissent and flexibility – these essential elements must be part of the development of 21st century Air Force senior leaders. This paper draws from the current body of knowledge on followership focusing on the foundational works and the followership styles they identify. It includes in-depth analysis of two traits recommended for effective leaders. This paper uses the problem/solution research methodology. The idea is not to provide a cookie-cutter follower checklist. Rather, the goal of this work is to initiate discussion of both the importance of followership and how the development and improvement of followership skills can improve the effectiveness of Air Force leaders.

### Why Followership?

The first page of Air Force Doctrine Document (AFDD) 1-1, *Leadership and Force Development*, defines leadership; the following quote is an excerpt of that definition:

> Leadership does not equal command, but all commanders should be leaders. Any Air Force member can be a leader and can positively influence those around him or her to accomplish the mission.
>
> The vast majority of Air Force leaders are not commanders. These individuals, who have stepped forward to lead others in accomplishing the mission, **simultaneously serve as both leaders and followers at every level of the Air Force**.[1]

Regardless of rank, every member of the United States Military is a subordinate to someone whether it is to the Secretary of Defense or a newly commissioned Lieutenant. In the military community, every officer should be considered a leader and follower simultaneously in every position they hold but as is evident in the Air Force's definition, the focus is on leadership. The Air Force professional military education concentrates on developing every officer as if he or she will one day become the Chief of Staff. However, a leader cannot lead without followers. The Air Force and the officer corps could greatly benefit by increasing the role of followership in professional military education for officers to help them as they work toward becoming effective leaders. The question is, how can officers best serve, using followership to make them better leaders?

The quote above from AFDD 1-1 about leadership mentions that Airmen are leaders and followers at the same time. The document goes on to claim, "Desirable behavioral patterns of these leaders and followers are identified in this doctrine and should be emulated in ways that improve the performance of individuals and units."[2] However, as you read further you never quite find useful guidance or even a definition of followership. When discussing personal leadership Air Force doctrine states that followership is an important skill to have and the tactical

level of force development is where one should focus on developing it. At the operational and strategic level, the topic of Airmen as followers is briefly mentioned. The operational level states, "based on a thorough understanding of themselves as leaders and followers and how they influence others, they apply an understanding of organizational and team dynamics."[3] At the strategic level it is not much different, "based on a thorough understanding of themselves as leaders and followers, and how to use organizational and team dynamics, they apply an in-depth understanding of leadership at the institutional and interagency levels."[4] Airmen are left to their own devices to find out more information on followership.

When one delves further into Air Force publications, the term followership shows up in only 14 documents out of over 2,500 documents posted on the official source site for Air Force administrative publications.[5] Of those 14, only two offer anything beyond a brief mention of the word followership. Air Force Pamphlet (AFPAM) 36-2241, *Professional Development Guide*, is the source for promotion exams for the enlisted force; officers do not take comparable tests for promotion. Whereas leadership rates a whole chapter and extensive discussion, followership is included as a subset of leadership and is boiled down to 10 qualities. The guide explains, "There are 10 points essential to good followership; however, the list is neither inflexible nor exhaustive:"[6]

- Organizational Understanding
- Decision-making
- Communication Skills
- Commitment
- Problem Solving
- Integrity
- Adaptability
- Self-employment
- Courage
- Credibility

This is a good start but followership is not a subset of leadership. Leadership and followership are two sides of the same coin, thus followership deserves more thought. A groundbreaking social scientist in the realm of followership, Robert E. Kelley, explains the relationship between leadership and followership well. "In reality, followership and leadership are two separate concepts, two separate roles. They are complementary, not competitive, paths to organizational contribution…The greatest successes require that people in both roles turn in top-rate performances."[7] It is encouraging to see that Air Force Instruction (AFI) 36-2014, *Commissioning Education Program* (CEP) lists followership as an institutional sub-competency under Embodying Air Force Culture.

> Followership: Comprehends and values the essential role of followership in mission accomplishment. Seeks command, guidance, and/or leadership while providing unbiased advice. Aligns priorities and actions toward chain of command guidance for mission accomplishment. Exercises flexibility and adapts quickly to alternating role as leader/follower; follower first, leader at times.[8]

However, followership is not mentioned in professional military education (PME) or most other instructions where leadership is mentioned. The Air Force Academy in its instructions takes the time to recognize followership but even then the focus is only at the lowest level, on the fourth class cadets (freshman).[9] In the *Air University Catalog* for Academic Year 2008-2009, followership is mentioned five times but only in the Squadron Officer School (SOS) curriculum, whereas the word leadership appears 242 times.[10] The bottom line is, significant searching is required to find mention of followership in Air Force publications and literature. It would be beneficial for officers to understand the continued importance of followership outside of the enlisted ranks and beyond commissioning, but the resources and emphasis do not exist.

There are a number of worthwhile characteristics of effective followership. However, this study focuses on two primary traits that directly contribute to the growth of effective leaders. The first one is dissent, examined in the context of its importance to critical thinking. In the article

"Dynamic Followership," Lt Col Sharon Latour and Lt Col Vicki Rast, have come up with five plausible follower competencies, one of them is, "*thinks independently and critically* (dissents courageously…)."[11]  The definition of followership in the CEP instruction above says, "Seeks command, guidance, and/or leadership while providing unbiased advice."[12] The act of providing unbiased advice will at times be dissent; all military professionals should be taught how to dissent properly. This does not mean just teaching the proper channels and the mechanics of dissent. Rather, it refers to the critical thinking required to formulate a dissenting opinion, the communication skills required to present it and the situational awareness and understanding of when to press on or back down. Note that dissent is not on the list above of followership qualities from the *Professional Development Guide*; however, almost all of those qualities, especially integrity and courage, are required for dissent to be possible. It is important to be able to distinguish between knowing when to salute smartly and move on versus telling the boss what he or she wants to hear i.e., being a "yes man." We serve our bosses best by presenting opinions that do not always match their own. There is a time and a place to disagree with the boss and good followers get this right. Dissent is an area where one must tread carefully it can turn into insubordination if not done correctly.

The other trait to be discussed is flexibility. Flexibility was also highlighted in the definition of followership in the CEP instruction. Flexibility refers to one's ability to deal with or adapt to change. Another one of five plausible follower competencies from the article "Dynamic Followership," is, "*functions well in change-oriented environments* (serves as a change agent, demonstrates agility, moves fluidly between leading and following)".[13]  This is especially relevant due to changes due to the new presidential administration as well as recent changes in Air Force leadership and organizations to deal with cyberspace and nuclear issues. It also affects

military units on a more personal level due to the nature of the system; it is not unusual for an

officer to spend only two years in a job, which means the organization must constantly deal with

the changes wrought by personnel and personality changeovers. As a general rule, people are

resistant to change. Much like dissent, it usually requires stepping out of one's comfort zone and

potentially taking risk. A good follower works with the leader to be an agent of change and help

the organization evolve and grow as required to deal with external environments and pressures.

Before exploring these traits of followership, one must delve into the origins of it to help

understand why followership is so important.

### Foundations of Followership

*"Follower is not a term of weakness, but the condition that permits leadership to exist and gives it strength."*

- Ira Chaleff[14]

The study of leadership and leaders dates back to the beginning of time. A Google search

on the word leadership turns up 237 million results whereas a search on the word followership

only has 144 thousand results.[15] When one does the math, it comes out to over 1,600 times more

mentions of leadership than followership. The statistics in the Muir S. Fairchild Research

Information Center (Air University Library) are similar; a key word search of leadership reveals

7,061 references and followership only 30.[16] "The modern leadership industry, now a quarter of

a century old, is built on the proposition that all leaders matter a great deal and followers hardly

matter at all."[17] A few people have dedicated a significant amount of time and attention to

understanding followers and the dynamics involved in the relationship between followers and

leaders. This section will begin by focusing on two of those intellectuals and their foundational

theories on followership and follower styles. Most modern writings on followership reference at

least one of the two the models to be discussed. There is even an empirical study substantiating

the existence of followership based on one of the proposed models. Using the followership

models of Robert Kelley and Ira Chaleff as a baseline, some leadership scholars have also turned

their interests towards followership. One of the most useful aspects to come from these studies is

the importance of relationships. This is highlighted by Barbara Kellerman as a key finding in her

recently published book about followership. The significance of relationships is worth looking

into further which takes one to Margaret Wheatley and the study of leadership using chaos

theory and quantum physics.[18] There are new and different ways to look at building leadership

potential but to truly understand the importance of leadership one must understand the recipients

of leadership, the followers.

## Followership Styles

To discuss followership one needs to first explore the dominant theories. Social scientist

Robert E. Kelley was not necessarily the first to write about followership, but he was one of the

first to write about it as its own subject not as a subset of leadership. His breakthrough text, *The

Power of Followership*, published in 1991 highlighted a model for follower types that he has

continued to refine in follow up essays and articles and is very much in use today. Kelley

developed his follower styles to complement the existing models for leadership styles. In his

research and consulting with both leaders and followers, two dimensions rose to the surface as

the primary characteristics of followership, independent critical thinking and active

participation.[19]  Kelley uses these in a two-dimensional model to illustrate five follower types

ranging the two scales of critical thinking and activity level.
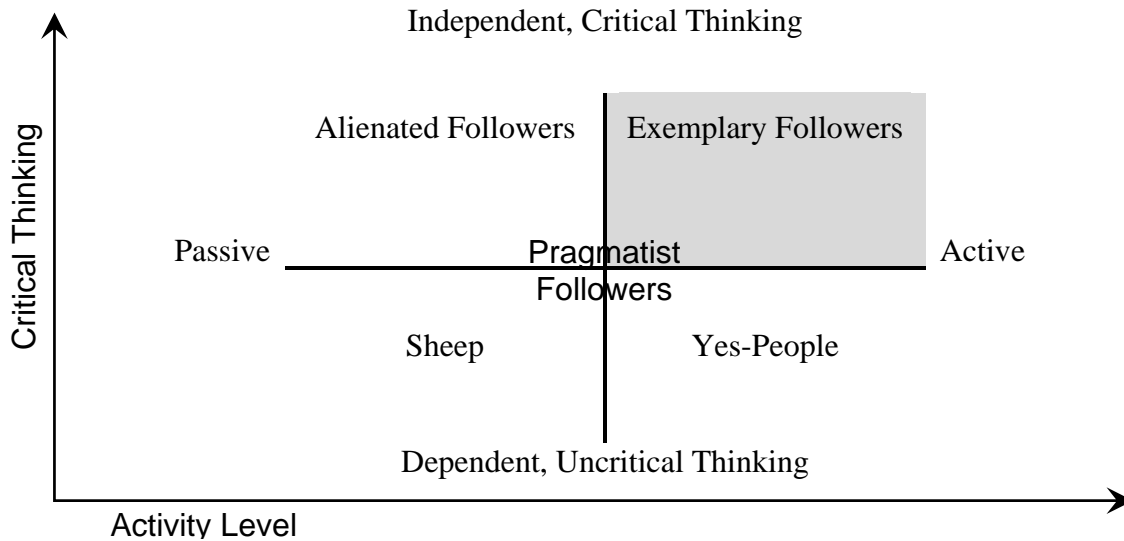
**Figure 1: Kelley's Followership Styles. (*Adapted from* Robert E. Kelley, *The Power of Followership*. New York: Doubleday/Currency, 1992).**
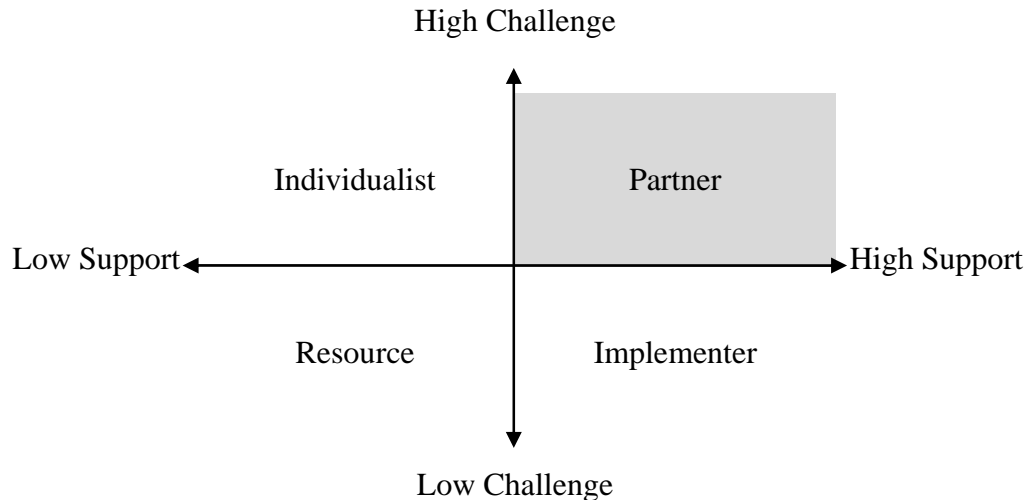
The sheep category has the least effective followers, "because of their herd instinct, they can be trained to perform necessary simple tasks and then wander around awaiting further direction."[20] Yes-People are also considered ineffective because while they are more enthusiastic and involved than sheep, they need a leader to tell them exactly what to do. They can be dangerous "either because they do exactly what they are told and no more or because they tell leaders what they want to hear, not what they need to know."[21] The alienated followers are often former exemplary followers, they are critical thinkers but they are passive in their role in the organization.[22]  Some versions of Kelley's model leave out the pragmatic followers in the center of the table. The pragmatic followers are "capable workers who eschew their independence for political expediency. Or they are system bureaucrats who carry out directives to the letter, even though they might have valuable ideas for improving them."[23] All of these types of followers have some less than advantageous characteristics.

The last type of follower in the model is the exemplary follower. According to Kelley, exemplary followers "bring enthusiasm, intelligence, and self-reliance into implementing an

organizational goal."[24] They exercise independent critical thinking, separate from and not necessarily in line with the leadership, and balance it with being actively engaged for the benefit of the organization, despite these two requirements seeming mutually exclusive at times.[25] The goal in developing skills for followership would be to help people move into the exemplary follower sector. Kelley asserts that there are seven steps to becoming an exemplary follower: (1) be proactive; (2) gather the facts; (3) seek wise counsel; (4) play by the rules; (5) persuade by speaking the language of the organization; (6) prepare your courage to go over heads when absolutely necessary; and (7) take collective action or plan well to stand alone.[26] These seven steps seem like common sense but they can take courage to enact. Kelley's recommendations are essentially advice for how to offer a dissenting position to a leader.

The seven steps Kelley recommends are similar to those in another foundational work in the study of followership, *The Courageous Follower*, by Ira Chaleff. Chaleff's study was first published in 1995 and updated in 2003; it is extremely relevant to the officer corps in the U.S. Military. In fact, his research was inspired by a book he read about the massacre at My Lai in Vietnam.[27] Chaleff contends that in order for leaders to use their power wisely or effectively they need followers who take a proactive approach to their roles. He explores the ideas of how followers can make their leaders lives easier while being a "shaper" who contributes to growth and development of the organization.[28] Chaleff also has a four-quadrant model for followership similar to Kelley's model. In this version, the axes have been swapped to assist with the comparison to Kelly's model. Chaleff's willingness to challenge the leader can be likened to Kelley's critical thinking dimension of followership. Additionally, where Kelley characterizes followers based on levels of activity ranging from passive to active, Chaleff focuses on a follower's degree of support for the leader.

High Challenge

Individualist | Partner

Low Support ← → High Support

Resource | Implementer

Low Challenge

**Figure 2: Chaleff's Followership Styles. (*Adapted from* Ira Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 2nd ed., San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2003)**

The key difference in Kelley's and Chaleff's models is that Chaleff recognizes positive attributes across all categories. There is something to be said for the mental images provoked by Kelley's category labels. Where Kelley has sheep, Chaleff considers them resources who may put in an honest day's pay but do not go beyond the minimum.[29] Chaleff's implementers are comparable to Kelley's yes-people and both say that this is where most leaders love to have their followers. Chaleff points out that leaders can count heavily on implementers to do what is needed to get the job done without much supervision but, as they are yes-people, they will not tell the leader when he begins down the wrong path.[30] The individualist gets a much better spin from Chaleff than the alienated followers do from Kelley. According to Chaleff, "these are potentially important people to have in the group as they balance the tendency of the rest of the group to go along with what seems acceptable while harboring reservations."[31] Lastly are Chaleff's partners, these are the exemplary followers in Kelley's model. "A follower operating from the first quadrant gives vigorous support to a leader but is also willing to question the leader's behavior or policies."[32] Chaleff reminds us that even followers operating in the partner

capacity have room for growth and should continue to develop their skills along the axes of the model.

## The Five Dimensions of a Courageous Follower

In order to develop followership, Chaleff first looks to explain the dynamics of the leader-follower relationship. The importance of relationships is a theme that surfaces throughout both leadership and followership literature. At the core of the relationship is "a common purpose pursued with decent values."[33] Relationships are important but ultimately we are responsible for ourselves and that is where any learning or change must begin. Ira Chaleff recommends beginning with the five dimensions of a Courageous Follower, the courage to assume responsibility, the courage to serve, the courage to challenge, the courage to participate in transformation, and the courage to take moral action.[34] These five dimensions are worth exploring further to help lay the foundation for the study of followership.

The first dimension is the courage to assume responsibility for both oneself and the organization. This is especially important in the military. Service members wear uniforms that make their profession obvious to the world and their actions reflect on their branch of service and shape public opinions of both the branch and the military as a whole. There can be risk involved with assuming responsibility, which is why it takes courage. According to Chaleff, this dimension is where use of his followership model begins with both self-assessment and eliciting feedback from others. "Courageous followers discover or create opportunities to fulfill their potential and maximize their value to the organization."[35] They do this through passion, initiative, influencing the culture, breaking the rules, breaking the mindset, improving the process, and testing new ideas. Passion "springs from genuine connection to the common purpose"[36] and passionate followers have a sense of stewardship. The Air Force Chief of Staff,

Gen Norton A. Schwartz, recently spoke on stewardship and adapted Peter Block's definition, stating, "stewardship is a set of principles…concerned with creating a way of governing ourselves that creates a strong sense of ownership and responsibility at the bottom of the organization."[37] Chaleff stresses passion is essential, General Schwartz understands that and in his speech, he appeals to the passion military members should have.

> I suggest that the better stewards we are in the profession of arms, the better prepared we will be to secure the victory and the less frequently we will be called upon to prove our preparedness. This is true because the effects of stewardship also serve to deter and dissuade those who would challenge us and serve to assure those who serve alongside us. So the better stewards we are with the military instrument, the more secure our Nation will be. We must not lose sight of this at any level of our service. No outcome is too small, no deed is insignificant, and no one who serves can escape these implications, no matter the task.[38]

General Schwartz could be answering Chaleff's first question to ask when trying to figure out how to reignite passion in an organization, "Does the organization's sense of purpose need renewing?" When passion is missing, whether from an individual or the organization, it is a problem worth investigating. Assuming responsibility also requires being willing to take the initiative. It is urging people to step outside of their stovepipes and breaking the mindset. Instead of complaining about archaic ways of doing something, look for ways to improve processes and test new ideas. The courage to assume responsibility is the first step a follower needs to take to work towards becoming a better and more effective follower.

The second dimension of followership according to Chaleff is the courage to serve. For military members by taking the oath of office they are exercising their courage to serve. Chaleff explains that this dimension involves the hard work required to support a leader. "Courageous followers stand up for their leader and the tough decisions a leader must make if the organization is to achieve its purpose."[39] Much of what Chaleff has to say about this dimension can be

summed up as reducing stress and workload for the leader. The best way to be more effective in the courage to serve is to build a better relationship with the leader.[40]

By developing the follower-leader relationship, it allows a follower to deal better with the third dimension of followership, which is the courage to challenge. Courageous followers "are willing to stand up, to stand out, to risk rejection, to initiate conflict in order to examine the actions of the leader and group when appropriate."[41] This is dissent. The courage to challenge is important because it helps organizations avoid groupthink. "Leaders with strong egos and passionate vision needed to scale mountains are prone to self-deception."[42] It is a courageous follower's responsibility to minimize this self-deception while helping the leader understand that you are on the same side.[43] A vital aspect of the courage to challenge is the duty to obey. Assuming it is not a matter of integrity or morally repugnant, if a follower challenges the leader and is overruled it is important to give the decision or policy a chance to make it work.[44] Another piece of the courage to challenge is challenging abuse early. Chaleff is not referring to overt illegal actions so much as small violations of values that if left unchallenged make it "difficult to avoid the 'slippery slope' of accelerating moral decline."[45] For Airmen, it is the little things like proper wear of the uniform and observing the customs and courtesies that are an integral part military service. "The road to integrity is paved with speaking up about and acting on small corruptions of principles as we encounter them; left unchecked, these moral potholes can become sinkholes that swallow the common purpose."[46] Obviously, the courage to challenge is much easier said than done.

According to Chaleff, the courage to challenge is not always sufficient which is why the fourth dimension, the courage to participate in transformation, is necessary. When transformation is required to continue towards the common purpose, courageous followers "champion the need

for change and stay with the leader and group while they mutually struggle with the difficulty of real change."[47] This appears to line up with the trait of flexibility, but Chaleff's focus is on the transformation concerning personal behavior rather than organizations. "Transformation efforts should be attempted when a practice or behavior that violates the organization's values and threatens its purpose is so entrenched that it is barely understood to be a legitimate problem, let alone one of potentially catastrophic dimensions."[48] Finally, when these first four dimensions of the courageous follower are not enough, followers are faced with a difficult crossroads, which leads to the last dimension, the courage to take moral action.

The fifth and last dimension is the courage to take moral action; this was referred to as the courage to leave in the first edition of Chaleff's book in 1995. While all five dimensions obviously require moral fiber, this dimension probably requires the most courage of the five. "Courageous followers know when it is time to take a stand that is different than that of the leader's."[49] This is where whistleblowers fit in the military. This is when we fall on our swords. "Healthy followership is a conscious act of free will. When we no longer believe that what we are doing is the best thing or the right thing, we must review our options and their respective consequences."[50] Chaleff's discussion of the five dimensions of a courageous follower is excellent advice to followers and should be required reading for USAF officers.

A follow-on study to Chaleff's courageous follower model was done in 2003 by Gene Dixon and Jerry Westbrook. They strove to "provide an empirical demonstration of the existence of followership in organizations."[51] On the surface, it would seem this existence is obvious; however, they investigated deeper into where and how Chaleff's five dimensions were evident at the different levels of organizations. Their conclusions included evidence that the executive level understands and demonstrates followership attributes the best. The study was not extensive

enough to be able to claim that executives achieve their leadership position because of their followership skills. However, it proved that followership competency is part of their skill base.[52] Furthermore, it provided scientific evidence to validate Chaleff's five dimensions of followership.

**Followers are to Leaders as Water is to Fish**

A more recent study of followership was written by Barbara Kellerman, a leadership scholar at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. In her 2008 book, *Followership: How Followers Are Creating Change and Changing Leaders*, she looks at relationships between leaders and followers. Kellerman defines followers using rank, "followers are subordinates who have less power, authority, and influence than do their superiors and therefore usually, but not invariably, fall into line."[53] This leads to her definition of followership, which is "a relationship (rank), between subordinates and superiors, and a response (behavior), of the former to the latter."[54] The relationship is important but the response is the key to the definition of followership.

With these definitions as her baseline, Kellerman develops her own typology of followers, acknowledging that while situations differ for followers, they nonetheless have striking similarities and can be grouped based on their *level of engagement*. She contends that you can look at the continuum ranging to feeling and doing nothing all the way to being passionately committed and deeply involved. The five types of followers she sees on this level of engagement continuum are isolate, bystander, participant, activist, and diehard.[55]

> Diehards are as their name implies–prepared to die if necessary for their cause, whether an individual, or an idea, or both. Diehards are deeply devoted to their leaders; or, in contrast, they are ready to remove them from positions of power, authority, and influence by any means necessary. In either case, Diehards are defined by their dedication, including their willingness to risk life and limb. Being a Diehard is all-consuming. It is who you are. It determines what you do.[56]

According to Kellerman, this is the category of follower where the military fits because to be a member of the armed forces, regardless of whether draftee or volunteer, one must be prepared to defend someone or something to the death.[57] In general, Diehards are considered good followers. However, according to Kellerman there are situations where any type of follower can get into trouble. Of Kellerman's five axioms,[58] the one where a good follower can go bad in the military situation is when followers support a leader who is bad, ineffective and/or unethical.[59] A good follower does not follow blindly. In a perfect world, followers would not support bad leaders but due to the nature of the military, followers may have no choice but to support their leader unless they are given illegal orders. However, Kellerman comes to realize that a main theme in her book is that the relationship between leaders and followers shows that "followers are more important to leaders than leaders are to followers."[60] Furthermore, she points out that the relationship between fellow followers is much more important than is generally given credit and, "leaders are often quite incidental to the action."[61]

It is worthwhile to further explore Kellerman's point that the relationships between both superiors and subordinates and between subordinates and other subordinates drives the exercise of both good leadership and good followership.[62] This idea ties into the chaos theory of leadership championed by Margaret Wheatley in her book *Leadership and the New Science*. Wheatley defines chaos differently than most people traditionally view it. Chaos tends to bring terms like disorder or pandemonium to mind but, in the realm of quantum physics, "chaos is order without predictability."[63] Social scientists like Wheatley have applied this idea to leadership. In quantum physics, relationships are unseen forces that affect systems, change causes change and even mere observation causes change. Transitioning this idea to the military, a common thread throughout followership and leadership studies is the concept that not only are

relationships critical, but it is also essential that followers and leaders share a common goal. This meshes beautifully with how the military operates. All military officers take the same oath when they enter service, "that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States."[64] While people might have different motivations for joining the military, at the core of it all is a common desire to serve one's country. The question is how can officers best serve using followership to make them better leaders?

### Dissent: "Yes Men" Need Not Apply

*The mark of a great leader is the development and growth of followers. The mark*
*of a great follower is the growth of leaders.*

- Ira Chaleff[65]

At Air Command and Staff College, many visiting senior leaders lecture the class and most of them offer pearls of wisdom regarding leadership. They have made it to the top, they of all people should know something about leadership. However, the ones who offer the best advice for the field grade audience soon to be staff officers and squadron commanders (most for the first time) are those who talk about followership. Regrettably, the term followership is not used, instead it is couched under how to support your boss as a leader. Once again, followership is presented as a subset of leadership. For example, Gen Stephen Lorenz, the commander of Air Education and Training Command (AETC) wrote a commentary titled "Lorenz on Leadership" and frequently presents it as a "top ten list." One of his principles is "Work the Boss's Boss's Problems."[66] This is a catchy way to say be a good follower. General Lorenz explains,

> Most people make a decision through a soda straw, but if they would rise up two levels above themselves, they could open the aperture of that straw and get a strategic view of the decision. Taking a "god's eye" view—looking through the eyes of their boss's boss—allows them to make a much better decision. That is, leaders must become deeply committed to the organization and make their boss's challenges their own.[67]

Naturally, working problems for higher leadership will lead to dissenting opinions at times. It is important to note that this paper does not attempt to address public dissent as with the "Revolt of the Generals" in 2006 when retired generals spoke out against the war in Iraq. Dr Don M. Snider, a Professor of Political Science at the United States Military Academy, delves into this issue beautifully in his essay "Dissent and Strategic Leadership of the Military Professions."[68] One takeaway of note is public dissent is dangerous but "the revolt may have contributed to an internal professional environment more open to honest dialogue and critique. If so, that is a positive development, indeed."[69] The focus on dissent here is internal to the military, which is an important aspect of followership.

The ability to dissent is a skill every officer in the U.S. Military needs to have. The purpose of this paper is not to teach officers the proper channels of dissent, military officers already know to work within the chain of command unless extraordinary circumstances occur. An effective follower should know *how* to offer dissent in a way that is not insubordinate and is ultimately for the good of the organization. "Since we can never completely eliminate misjudgments, we should create an environment where subordinates are more likely to identify and invite attention to those misjudgments."[70]

Before challenging a leader, it is important to acknowledge the extreme importance of supporting that leader. While conducting training over the last ten-plus years on courageous followership, Chaleff was surprised to learn that, the prerequisite for developing good followership was to "raise the awareness of the need for followers to give leaders *the support* they require and to which they are entitled."[71] One cannot be what Chaleff refers to as a partner in his followership model (figure 2) unless the subordinate is willing to give the leader genuine support and not just a minimum level of compliance.[72] This is a key part of understanding

dissent. If a subordinate offers a dissenting opinion and it is shot down, assuming there is no

legal or ethical issue, that subordinate must then give genuine support to the leader. "We have

the right to challenge policies in the policy-making process; we do not have the right to sabotage

them in the implementation phase."[73] Otherwise, a subordinate undermines the leader and hurts

the organization and the mission. If a subordinate becomes an opponent without declaring so,

while still acting the follower, it creates havoc in the organization.[74] "We create the opposite of a

groupthink situation. We create factions and internal warfare that can threaten to immobilize or

fracture the group and undermine the common purpose."[75] This is a vital concept one must

understand before dissenting. In the U.S. Armed Forces, all members have the same common

purpose of defense of the United States and no one wants to undermine the cause either

intentionally or unintentionally.

The importance of offering genuine support to the leader is summed up well by Michael

Useem in his book, *Leading Up*, which is about getting results by helping one's superiors lead.[76]

Useem's first lesson is "Informing Your Commander" which draws on a Civil War case study.

Gen Robert E. Lee was successful where many Union generals were not because he adhered to

four guiding principles:

1. Keep your superiors well informed of what you have done, what you are
   doing, and what you plan to do.
2. Regardless of how you feel about your superiors, display a respect for their
   positions.
3. Avoid petty quarrels with your superiors in which you may be right but your
   reputation will suffer.
4. Estimate your competitive advantage as precisely as possible, not only to
   avoid the twin dangers of overconfidence and overcautiousness, but also to
   sustain your superiors' confidence in your capacity for precise analysis.[77]

These four principles are still very much applicable today and should be helpful to an

officer at all times, not just in a situation requiring dissent.

Once the foundation of genuine support for the leader is established, dissent requires one

"to make very sure that the boss really is wrong."[78]  Remember that the leader has more

experience and may be aware of information that is not common knowledge. Critical thinking

skills come into play here, it is important to do the homework and ensure there is sufficient proof

to back up the dissenting opinion. There is a chance once one digs into the situation the analysis

may support the leader's position. If not, when formulating a dissenting opinion one should offer

possible alternatives. "If you cannot offer a better idea, there is little to be gained by poking

holes in the plans of your superiors."[79]  In *Leading Up,* Michael Useem uses a case study from

the bible to make his point. Abraham challenged God's authority regarding the plans to destroy

Sodom and Gomorrah when pleading the case for Lot and his family, who had recently relocated

to Sodom.

> He [Abraham] pulled himself together to challenge the very force on whom his
> life depended.
>
> "Will you indeed sweep away the righteous with the wicked?" Abraham asked his
> superior. "Suppose there are fifty righteous within the city; will you then sweep
> away the place? Far be it from you to do such a thing, to slay the righteous with
> the wicked! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do what is just?"
>
> With the words barely out of his mouth, Abraham feared God might strike him
> down on the spot. Instead, miraculously, God conceded to the argument.[80]

 This story obviously goes on a bit longer and is more involved but Useem's point is,

"even when you report to the ultimate authority, it is your solemn duty… to give your best

counsel, render your best judgment, and persist in the expression of both, whether such upward

leadership is specifically sought or not."[81]  Dissent takes courage but it is important for both

sides of the leader-follower relationship.

Once the need for dissent is determined, the next step is to ensure the environment is

conducive for dissent. Consider the relationships between the leader and subordinates. Does the

leader encourage open debate within the organization or would public dissent cause conflict in the organization? Keep in mind, "it is difficult for anyone to admit a mistake, especially in front of an audience."[82] One also needs to think about the organizational culture and demographics. For example, when working at the staff level with a mix of field grade officers, civilians, and contractors everyone is on fairly even footing regarding knowledge and experience. In this situation critical thinking and debate is part of providing the leadership with the best options and recommendations. Conversely, in a squadron where enlisted troops outnumber officers it is a completely different dynamic. In this situation, maintaining discipline and showing a united front and support for higher leadership is crucial and dissent is best done in private. It is important to assess the climate and to choose the right time and place for dissent. When in doubt opt for privacy. Proper timing is essential, as Chaleff pointed out in his discussion of the importance of genuine support for the leadership. The time for dissent is when the leader still has time to act to change the course of events. As is often said, hindsight is twenty-twenty; offering opinions after the fact is not helpful.

The last significant theme regarding dissent has already been mentioned in the discussion of genuine support to the leader but it is important enough to revisit. "If your best efforts are unsuccessful, you face an even more difficult decision. In most cases, you should say 'aye, aye' and cheerfully execute the order to the best of your ability."[83] Dissent is a key aspect of critical thinking and being an effective follower, but if a subordinate's challenge is rejected, effective followership dictates that that subordinate obey orders and offer total commitment to the way ahead.[84] The way ahead may be a big change for the subordinate and or the organization, which is why flexibility is also an essential characteristic of followership.

## Flexibility is Not Just for Airpower

It has been stated and restated "flexibility is the key to airpower" so it should be no surprise that the second important characteristic of a good follower is flexibility. For the purposes of this paper, flexibility is defined as the ability to deal with change. There are myriad books written about leading change and a key theme is how to get the followers to accept and help make change happen. One of the initial steps to a successful transformation effort is to create a powerful guiding coalition.[85] To make change happen having the leadership on board is usually a given in the military but like in any organization, getting the followers to buy in may be a challenge and that is what makes a transformation successful.

As mentioned up front in this essay, "*Functions well in change-oriented environments*"[86] is a key follower competency. "In many cases, a follower's reaction to change is to ignore it or hide from it."[87] That is not the reaction that would be best for an individual or the organization. An exceptional follower embraces change and is constantly looking for new and better ways to do things.[88] Where these followers can be even more effective is by working with other followers to help them understand and accept the change. By doing that, they help the change take hold and the organization grows and improves. This is a skill of an exemplary follower, "a final suggestion for adding value above and beyond your job is to champion new ideas."[89] It is important not to get stuck in the bureaucratic mindset of doing things a certain way because that is how they have always been done.

The military, being a bureaucratic institution, tends to be slow to change. In *Leading Up,* one of the final lessons is, "all institutions depend on dynamic give-and-take among those at the top, the middle, and the bottom. The success of any hierarchy depends on communication and flexibility across the vertical divides."[90] For change to work, everyone needs to be involved.

Margaret Wheatley discusses this in her text, "if we want to change individual or local behaviors, we have to tune into these system wide influences. We have to use what is going on in the whole system to understand individual behavior, and we have to inquire into individual behavior to learn about the whole."[91] An effective follower must understand that their individual behavior affects the whole group and once this realization happens people take responsibility for changing themselves.[92] The importance of relationships is highlighted here in working with change. "Everything comes into form because of relationship… If we are interested in effecting change, it is crucial to remember that we are working with these webs of relations, not with machines."[93] When trying to make change happen regardless of the level of an organization although interpretations and dynamics are different, "the work of change is always the same. We need to find ways to get their [the people's] attention; we need to discover what's meaningful to them."[94] Warren Bennis, a noted leadership scholar and advisor to multiple U.S. presidents, boils it down beautifully, "no change can occur without willing and committed followers."[95] Over and over again in the literature, the emphasis is on the importance of followers driving change. Developing followership skills in people at all levels of an organization should help the organization make positive changes for the future.

What should followers do when confronted with change to help them become agents of change rather than a just a cog or worse yet a speed bump in the process? In his book, *Leading Change*, leadership scholar and colleague of Warren Bennis, James O'Toole, compiles a list of 33 reasons why people and organizations are resistant to change which leads him to the conclusion that "*everything* in society seems to conspire against the receptivity to change."[96] When it comes to change, good timing plays more of a role than successful leaders may be willing to admit but it is only a small piece of the equation, a common theme throughout

O'Toole's discussion of unsuccessful attempts at change is the failure to create followers.[97] How people respond to change is shaped in part by personal objectives, goals, and values,[98] which ties back to Chaleff's point that leaders and followers must share a common purpose. If followers share and embrace the same basic values, at least one major hurdle for change has been cleared. O'Toole uses Warren Bennis to help explain the importance of good values, "leaders don't just do things right; they do the right thing."[99] O'Toole stresses the importance of moral or value-based leadership[100] in bringing about change and repeatedly notes that there is an art to "bringing about change without imposing one's will on others."[101] Followers, by default, since they are not in a leadership position with the ability to direct change, must learn the art of inspiring, instigating and implementing change. Leaders do not have the monopoly on value-based action; followers can use Bennis's words as advice and be agents of change by doing the right thing. Doing the right thing leads to trust, this is another important piece of being an effective follower. Both gaining and giving trust to the leader and fellow followers goes towards building the relationship that makes the whole organization work. "Great leaders are made by great groups and by organizations that create the social architecture of respect and dignity."[102] Warren Bennis argues that this is a result of the leader, but it would not happen without effective followers.

To be an effective follower, it is important to be a change agent and not an agitator. Since followers are the people who make or break change, they should be involved in planning from the beginning. An effective follower recognizes this and helps foster the communication and understanding along with the open-mindedness required to make change work. "They [followers] can be extremely effective as agents for change, by explaining to their coworkers the advantages of doing things differently, showing by example how different does not have to mean worse."[103] Some might refer to this as "leading from the middle" to ensure those above and below are all

working towards the same goal.[104] Regardless of how it is labeled, being flexible and helping to usher in change is a hallmark of effective followership.

An effective follower can be an agent of change even when not in on the plans from the beginning. Rather than criticize the leader or a proposed change to the organization, a good follower looks for ways to find a connection to the goal of the change.[105] The issue of trust arises again here; an effective follower must see others, both peers and the leader, as allies working together for a common purpose and the good of the organization. "Participating in successful change efforts further substantiates the belief that efforts make a difference."[106] Furthermore, when making a change, once the common goal and trust are established, effective followers become committed to the change and accept accountability for it. "Transforming followers are willing to put themselves on the line, and they believe that others, especially the leader, should do the same."[107] In the end, one must remember progress requires change but not all change is progress.[108] Followers must be flexible and capable of dealing with change and furthermore, of heralding it to ensure progress and success for their organization.

Dissent and flexibility are only two of many characteristics required for effective followership. However, they are arguably the two most important skills, especially for military officers. These traits go hand in hand, when dissent is accepted by the leadership it may lead to change. "Effective leaders reward dissent, as well as encourage it."[109] Flexibility allows followers to function in a change environment, but effective followers do not just function, they thrive. "The ultimate irony is that the follower who is willing to speak out shows precisely the kind of initiative that leadership is made of."[110] Leaders should work to cultivate all aspects of followership in their subordinates. Furthermore, since followers are a prerequisite for a leader to lead, then mastery of followership should be a qualification to practice leadership.

**Leadership Requires Followership**

*Followership is just as important as leadership. Followers are the backbone of
any effective organization because without loyal, dedicated followers there can be
no effective leaders.*
- Marine Corps Warfighting Publication 6-11, *Leading Marines*[111]

Are followership principles being instilled in officers under the guise of leadership good

enough? No. Due to the nature of the leadership-followership dynamic in the military, it is

important for officers to understand when they should be focusing on followership versus

leadership. There are a few main points from the foundations of followership discussion worth

stressing. First are the follower styles from Kelley and Chaleff, the best followers are the

exemplary followers or partners. All followers should strive to be the critical thinking, highly

engaged, supportive followers described in the models. Second are the five dimensions of a

courageous follower. Chaleff's ideas are extremely relevant to the military way, his concepts

have been used successfully in other areas of the government, and it is past time for the military

to adopt them. Lastly, the importance of relationships cannot be overlooked. Throughout this

essay, the theme that relationships are crucial has surfaced repeatedly. Relationships between

leaders and followers as well as between colleagues are the glue that allow organizations to

succeed.

The Air Force needs effective leaders and it can create them by developing effective

followers. "Leaders come from the ranks of followers. Few leaders can be successful without

first learning the skills of followership."[112]  A start is to get officers at all levels to reacquaint

themselves with the followership theories that they were introduced to in their commissioning

programs. Including a foundational text such as Ira Chaleff's book, *The Courageous Follower*, or

Michael Useem's, *Leading Up,* in the CSAF Professional Reading Program[113] would be a foot in

the door for followership. Adding information on followership as a complement to the existing leadership lessons at the higher levels of PME would be the next step. Focusing on flexibility to manage change and dissent through critical thinking will help grow better followership skills and lead to better leadership. Professional development never stops and neither should the focus on followership.

This essay only touched on two characteristics of effective followers but it offers a starting point the Air Force can use to not just develop but also maintain followership skills in officers. One would think that in a perfect world all followers would fit in the exemplary/partner style of followership. However, studies have shown leaders actually prefer most of their subordinates to come from the "yes-people" category.[114] Leaders need a better of understanding of followership skills to appreciate how they can benefit from having exemplary followers. Air Force officers need to be better educated about followership so they can be not just better followers but better leaders. Raising awareness of followership competencies means officers can develop their own followership skills as well as those of their subordinates. The idea is to build relationships and create an atmosphere where dissent does not require extraordinary courage and change is not feared.

**Appendix A – Followership "Top Ten Lists"**

**Types of Followers (based on level of engagement) – Kellerman**

**Isolates** – Isolates are completely detached. They do not care about their leaders, or know anything about them, or respond to them in any way. Their alienation is, nevertheless, of consequence. By default – by knowing nothing and doing nothing – Isolates strengthen still further leaders who already have the upper hand.[115]

**Bystanders** – Bystanders observe but do not participate. They make a deliberate decision to stand aside, to disengage from their leaders and from whatever is the group dynamic. This withdrawal is, in effect, a declaration of neutrality that amounts to tacit support for whoever and whatever constitutes the status quo.

**Participants –** Participants are in some way engaged. They clearly favor their leaders and the groups and organizations of which they are members – or they are clearly opposed. In either case, they care enough to put their money where their mouths are – that is, to invest some of what they have (time, for example) to try to have an impact.

**Activists –** Activists feel strongly about their leaders and they act accordingly. They are eager, energetic, and engaged. Because they are heavily invested in people and process, they work hard either on behalf of their leaders or to undermine and even unseat them.

**Diehards –** Diehards are as their name implies–prepared to die if necessary for their cause, whether an individual, or an idea, or both. Diehards are deeply devoted to their leaders; or, in contrast, they are ready to remove them from positions of power, authority, and influence by any means necessary. In either case, Diehards are defined by their dedication, including their willingness to risk life and limb. Being a Diehard is all-consuming. It is who you are. It determines what you do.[116]

**Seven Steps to Becoming an Exemplary Follower -- Kelley**
1. Be proactive
2. Gather the facts
3. Seek wise counsel
4. Play by the rules
5. Persuade by speaking the language of the organization
6. Prepare your courage to go over heads when absolutely necessary
7. Take collective action or plan well to stand alone[117]

**Five Dimensions of a Courageous Follower -- Chaleff**
1. The courage to assume responsibility
2. The courage to serve
3. The courage to challenge
4. The courage to participate in transformation
5. The courage to take moral action[118]

**Ways to Stiffen The Spine -- Kellerman**[119]

- Be aware of being a follower
- Be informed
- Be engaged
- Be independent
- Be a watchdog
- Be prepared to analyze the situation, the leader, and the other followers
- Be prepared to judge the situation, the leader, and the other followers
- Be open to allies and forming coalitions
- Be prepared to be different
- Be prepared to take a stand
- Be prepared to defend yourself
- Be loyal to the group, not any single individual
- Know the importance of timing
- Know the slippery slope – bad leaders who over time become more deeply embedded are more difficult to uproot
- Know tactics and strategies such as cooperating, collaborating, co-opting, and overtly or covertly resisting
- Know your options
- Know the risk of doing something – and of doing nothing
- Check your moral compass [120]


**Ten Rules of Good Followership -- Meilinger**

1. Don't blame your boss for an unpopular decision or policy; your job is to support, not undermine.
2. Fight with your boss if necessary; but do it in private, avoid embarrassing situations, and never reveal to others what was discussed.
3. Make the decision, then run it past the boss; use your initiative.
4. Accept responsibility whenever it is offered.
5. Tell the truth and don't quibble; your boss will be giving advice up the chain of command based on what you said.
6. Do your homework; give your boss all the information needed to make a decision; anticipate possible questions.
7. When making a recommendation, remember who will probably have to implement it. This means you must know your own limitations and weaknesses as well as your strengths.
8. Keep your boss informed of what's going on in the unit; people will be reluctant to tell him or her their problems and successes. You should do it for them, and assume someone else will tell the boss about yours.
9. If you see a problem, fix it. Don't worry about who would have gotten the blame or who now gets the praise.
10. Put in more than an honest day's work, but don't ever forget the needs of your family. If they are unhappy, you will be too, and your job performance will suffer accordingly. [121]

**Follower Competencies -- Latour and Rast**

- *Displays loyalty* (shows deep commitment to the organization, adheres to the boss's vision and priorities, disagrees agreeably, aligns personal and organizational goals)
- *Functions well in change-oriented environments* (serves as a change agent, demonstrates agility, moves fluidly between leading and following)
- *Functions well on teams* (collaborates, shares credit, acts responsibly toward others)
- *Thinks independently and critically* (dissents courageously, takes the initiative, practices self-management)
- *Considers integrity of paramount importance* (remains trustworthy, tells the truth, maintains the highest performance standards, admits mistakes) [122]

**Characteristics of Empowered Followers -- Fairfield**

- Empowered followers work hard to carry out the mission and goals of their unit. They are not silent partners who are simply going through the motions. They recognize that the success of their unit depends on teamwork and the combined efforts of both leader and follower.
- Empowered followers use their power to motivate and inspire their leaders through their actions and words. They actively strive to contribute ideas and feedback to their leaders. I doing so, they make their leaders better by voicing their expectations and desires for outstanding leadership.
- Empowered followers are loyal to their core values and institutional ethos. By doing so, followers contribute to good leadership and prevent bad leadership from continuing. They recognize that if they are silent about illegal or immoral actions they are equally complicit in those activities. [123]

# Endnotes

[1] AFDD1-1, *Leadership and Force Development*, 1.

[2] AFDD1-1, *Leadership and Force Development*, 1

[3] AFDD1-1, *Leadership and Force Development*, 16.

[4] AFDD1-1, *Leadership and Force Development*, 17.

[5] Air Force e-Publishing, http://www.e-publishing.af.mil/ (accessed 27 February 2009).

[6] AFPAM 36-2241, *Professional Development Guide*, 237-238.

[7] Kelley, *The Power of Followership,* 41.

[8] AFI 36-2014, *Commissioning Education Program*, 8

[9] USAFA AFI 36-2809, *USAF Academy Cadet Awards Program,* 22. This refers to an award listed in this instruction which "recognizes the outstanding fourth class cadet who exemplifies the follower role of the fourth class year."

[10] *Air University Catalog*.

[11] Latour and Rast, "Dynamic Followership," 8.

[12] AFI 36-2104, *Commissioning Education Program*, 8.

[13] Latour and Rast, "Dynamic Followership," 8.

[14] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 17.

[15] Google, http://www.google.com/ (accessed 2 April 2009).

[16] Muir S. Fairchild Research Information Center, https://catalog.au.af.mil/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi (accessed 2 April 2009).

[17] Kellerman, *What Every Follower Needs to Know About Followers*, 84.

[18] Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science*, 120.

[19] Kelley, *The Power of Followership,* 93.

[20] Kelley, "Followership in a Leadership World," in *Insights on Leadership,* ed. Larry C. Spears (New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1998), 175.

[21] Kelley, "Followership in a Leadership World," 175-176.

[22] Kelley, "Followership in a Leadership World," 176.

[23] Kelley, "Followership in a Leadership World," 176.

[24] Kelley, "Followership in a Leadership World," 175.

[25] Kelley, *The Power of Followership*, 125-126.

[26] Kelley, "Followership in a Leadership World," 181-183.

[27] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* xv.

[28] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 1-2.

[29] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 42.

[30] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 41.

[31] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 42.

[32] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 40.

[33] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 13.

[34] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower*, 6-7.

[35] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 6

[36] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 48.

[37] Schwartz, "Stewardship in National Defense," 2. This is slightly different from the definition in Block, *Stewardship: Choosing Service over Self Interest,* 5. "Stewardship is the set of principles and practices which have the potential to make dramatic changes in our governance system. It is concerned with creating a way of governing ourselves that creates a strong sense of ownership and responsibility for outcomes at the bottom of the organization."

[38] Schwartz, "Stewardship in National Defense," 3-4.

[39] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 7.

[40] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 57-59.

[41] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 7.

[42] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 90.

[43] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 90.

[44] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 101-102.

[45] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 103.
[46] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 104.
[47] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 7.
[48] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 121.
[49] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 8.
[50] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 159.
[51] Dixon and Westbrook, "Followers Revealed," 19.
[52] Dixon and Westbrook, "Followers Revealed," 24.
[53] Kellerman, *Followership*, xix.
[54] Kellerman, *Followership,* xx.
[55] Kellerman, *Followership,* 85.
[56] Kellerman, *Followership,* 179.
[57] Kellerman, *Followership,* 180.
[58] Kellerman, *Followership,* 230.  Her five axioms for determining good versus bad followers are: "1) To do nothing – to be in no way involved – is to be a bad follower. 2) To support a leader who is good – effective and ethical – is to be a good follower. 3) To support a leader who is bad – ineffective and/or unethical – is to be a bad follower. 4) To oppose a leader who is good – effective and ethical – is to be a bad follower. 5) To oppose a leader who is bad – ineffective and /or unethical – is to be a good follower."
[59] Kellerman, *Followership,* 230.
[60] Kellerman, *Followership,* 242.
[61] Kellerman, *Followership,* 242.
[62] Kellerman, *Followership,* 243.
[63] Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science*, 120.
[64] AFDD 1-1, *Leadership and Force Development*, 39-40.
[65] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 29.
[66] Lorenz, "Lorenz on Leadership," 1.
[67] Lorenz, "Lorenz on Leadership," 1.
[68] Snider, "Dissent and Strategic Leadership of the Military Professions." This essay was written for the Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College and covers the issue of public dissent.
[69] Snider, "Dissent and Strategic Leadership of the Military Professions," 31.
[70] Cantrell, "The Doctrine of Dissent" in *Military Leadership: In Pursuit of Excellence,* ed. Taylor, Robert L. and William E. Rosenbach (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 119.
[71] Chaleff, "Creating New Ways of Following," in *The Art of Followership*, ed. Ronald E. Riggio, Ira Chaleff, and Jean Lipman-Blumen (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2008), 73.
[72] Chaleff, "Creating New Ways of Following," 73.
[73] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 102.
[74] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 102.
[75] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower,* 102.
[76] Useem, *Leading Up*, book jacket.
[77] Useem, *Leading Up*, 39.
[78] Cantrell, "The Doctrine of Dissent," 119.
[79] Cantrell, "The Doctrine of Dissent," 119.
[80] Useem, *Leading Up*, 254.
[81] Useem, *Leading Up*, 255.
[82] Cantrell, "The Doctrine of Dissent," 119.
[83] Cantrell, "The Doctrine of Dissent," 119.
[84] O'Connell, "Military Dissent and Junior Officers," in AU-24, *Concepts for Air Force Leaders*, ed. Richard I Lester and A. Glenn Morton (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air University Press, 2001), 325.  This is partly paraphrased from O'Connell's words and partly original thought regarding followership.
[85] Kotter, *Leading Change*, 21.  John Kotter was a professor of leadership at Harvard Business school who has written many books on leading change.  His eight step process is widely used, step two is "forming a powerful coalition."
[86] Latour and Rast, "Dynamic Followership," 8.

[87] Potter, Rosenbach and Pittman, "Followers as Partners," in *Military Leadership: In Pursuit of Excellence,* ed. Taylor, Robert L. and William E. Rosenbach (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 134.
[88] Ibid., 134.
[89] Kelley, *The Power of Followership*, 147. Kelley goes on to say, "All too often, your organizations get stuck in a rut, locked into the way things have always been done."
[90] Useem, *Leading Change*, 276.
[91] Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science,* 142.
[92] Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science,* 144.
[93] Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science,* 145.
[94] Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science,* 152.
[95] Bennis, "The End of Leadership," in *Contemporary Issues in Leadership*, ed. William E. Rosenbach and Robert L. Taylor (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2006), 133.
[96] O'Toole, *Leading Change*, 165.
[97] O'Toole, *Leading Change*, 171-187.
[98] O'Toole, *Leading Change*, 243.
[99] O'Toole, *Leading Change*, 129. O'Toole worked with Bennis as co-founder of the Leadership institute at the University of Southern California and cites him frequently, the rest of the quote is, "Abusing people is never the right thing to do."
[100] RE, ACSC, 10 September 2008. This was discussed in class, value-based leadership is also known as transformational leadership. Transformational leadership involves change for the better, leaders motivate and inspire and have vision, passion and energy. Four main aspects of this style of leadership are 1. Both the leaders and followers needs are met, beyond just accomplishment of the mission but emotional needs as well. 2. It addresses people's deeper needs. 3. Societal needs are met, for example environmental factors. 4. It is lifting, helping people "better themselves".  Adaptive work, servant leadership and charismatic leadership are some of the models in this area of leadership studies.
[101] O'Toole, *Leading Change,* 254.
[102] Bennis, "The End of Leadership," 141.
[103] Potter, Rosenbach and Pittman, "Followers as Partners," 134.
[104] Useem, *Leading Up,* 73.
[105] Hopper, "Courageous Followers, Servant-Leaders, and Organizational Transformations," in *The Art of Followership*, ed. Ronald E. Riggio, Ira Chaleff, and Jean Lipman-Blumen (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2008), 119.
[106] Ibid., 120.
[107] Dixon, "Getting Together," in *The Art of Followership*, ed. Ronald E. Riggio, Ira Chaleff, and Jean Lipman-Blumen (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2008), 169.
[108] Land, "Managing Change"(RE 9 lecture, ACSC, 5 November 2008).
[109] Bennis, *An Invented Life,* 159.
[110] Bennis, *An Invented Life,* 160.
[111] MCWP 6-11, *Leading Marines*, 37.
[112] Taylor and Rosenbach, *Military Leadership*, 123.
[113] Air Force Link, "CSAF Reading List," http://www.af.mil/library/csafreading/index.asp (accessed 2 April 2009). "The 2009 Chief of Staff reading list will provide Airmen of all ranks a guide to further their education and expertise."
[114] Kelley, "Rethinking Followership," in *The Art of Followership*, ed. Ronald E. Riggio, Ira Chaleff, and Jean Lipman-Blumen (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2008), 13.
[115] Kellerman, *Followership*, 86.
[116] Kellerman, *Followership*, 92.
[117] Kelley, "Followership in a Leadership World," 181-183.
[118] Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower*, 6-7.
[119] Kellerman, *Followership*, 257. This list is Kellerman's recommendations for "ways to stiffen the spine… of men and women who too readily 'resign their own sentiments and passions to those of their rulers'".
[120] Kellerman, *Followership*, 257-258.
[121] Meilinger, "The Ten Rules of Good Followership," 99-101.

[122] Latour and Rast, "Dynamic Followership: The Prerequisite for Effective Leadership," 8.
[123] Fairfield, "Empowered Followership," 56.

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